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The Shape of Things

TO THE CREDIT OF THE EIGHTY-FIRST Congress, it has undone one of the meanest acts of the Eightieth. It has taken the miserably inadequate, frustrating, and discriminatory displaced-persons law of 1948 and expanded it into a measure that at least restores the national self-respect. The revised D. P. bill, introduced by Senator Kilgore as a substitute for the extremely limited changes conceded by Senator McCarran, still falls short of coping with the mass tragedy suffered by the victims of Hitler's madness. No statute can fully achieve that purpose, but the Kilgore measure at least gets rid of the clauses that caused President Truman to denounce the present law as "anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic." It offers a welcome to 139,000 more persons than are covered at present and extends by a year the period in which they may be admitted. It provides refuge here for 20,000 orphans instead of the 5,000 originally proposed. And it gives Congressional approval to the Displaced Persons Commission, which had been exposed to a barrage of abuse at the hands of those who in fact want no D. P. program at all. Substantially the same as the bill that passed the House last year, the Kilgore substitute should get through the conference committee without trouble and be signed by the President. Its passage is a rebuke to former Senator Revercomb, who was chiefly responsible for the shabby law now on the books; to Senator McCarran, who fought doggedly against any liberalization; and to Senators Jenner and Eastland, who turned debate on the subject into an ugly demonstration of passion and prejudice.

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LIKE MOST SOBER CITIZENS, WE BELIEVE that politics should end at the water's edge, but the appointment of John Foster Dulles as a top policy adviser suggests perhaps a slight excess of virtue. The naming of former Senator John S. Cooper as a consultant would seem to have been enough to establish the President's genuine desire for bipartisanship in the conduct of our foreign policy, but if Mr. Truman has reason to think the addition of Dulles is the price of Republican cooperation, it is hard to quarrel with his decision. It should be recognized, however, that the appointment will be held to confirm Dulles's own view of himself as the one man without whose counsel we cannot carry on in the world of nations. New York voters who heard him in last year's senatorial campaign have not forgotten how he identified his candidacy with "the momentous issue of peace and security" and how he drummed away on the theme "I have worked in close cooperation with five Democratic Secretaries of State." Should he decide to oppose Senator Lehman again in the fall, he will no doubt cite his appointment as proof positive of his indispensability. This is believed to be improbable, however, and in justice to both Mr. Dulles and the President the move should also be viewed as a check to the growing tendency of Republicans to take advantage of the wanton assaults on Secretary of State Acheson. In this connection it is good to have a man of Dulles's standing in the G. O. P. bluntly dissociate himself from Senator McCarthy's "apparent appraisal" of the Secretary. Coming on top of similar comments by Senator Vandenberg and Henry L. Stimson, it may serve to restore a measure or decency to current Republican tactics.

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OFFICIALLY, THE JOHN STRACHEY AFFAIR IS closed. Secretary of Defense Johnson and Defense Minister Shinwell have exchanged formal compliments, and the latter has denied on the floor of the House of Commons that any discussion about the British War Minister took place during the Hague meeting of the North Atlantic defense committee. The British press, with the remarkable self-censorship it so often applies in handling "sensitive" matters, played the incident down almost to the vanishing point; the London *Times* did not even mention it. And when Secretary Johnson got back to Washington he brushed the whole thing aside by saying that the handling of secret military information in Britain was up to Mr. Shinwell and that there had been "no agreement" among American military chiefs to withhold such information while Mr. Strachey was Minister of War. So it stands. But obviously something did happen at The Hague. The Beaverbrook attack on Strachey as a Communist sympathizer, though officially repudiated and disproved, following on the heels of the Fuchs spy revelations, undoubtedly led to off-the-record proposals from American military leaders to hold back information of a highly confidential nature. Nor is it

Next Week in *The Nation*

The first of J. A. del Vayo's reports from Europe

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certain that the situation was cleared up in talks between Johnson and Shinwell. Without any "agreement" to do so, the Pentagon will probably sit tight on some of its secrets rather than intrust them to a government that harbors radicals like Strachey. At any rate, no official has yet been willing to say plainly that such is not the case. But the result of the half-suppressed incident has been to create resentment in British government circles over American interference and over the suggestion that Mr. Attlee would appoint to so important an office a man of doubtful loyalty.

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THE SUPREME COURT HAS BEEN ASKED TO expedite its hearing of a suit challenging the Georgia county-unit voting system—a system under which half a million people in the state's sixty-seven smallest counties have twenty-two times as much influence in nominating Democratic Party candidates for state and federal office as an approximately equal number of people in Fulton County (Atlanta). The court has been reluctant in the past to interfere with state voting systems; in 1947 it refused, in a four to three decision, to void an archaic Illinois statute which gave rural areas disproportionate strength in the House of Representatives. But the Georgia case is profoundly important because the county-unit system—giving each county, however small, two "unit" votes, and no county, however populous, more than six "unit" votes—is a loophole through which Negro voters can be effectively deprived of influence in Democratic primaries. Backwoods counties, with sparse populations and easily intimidated Negro citizens, are given a disproportionate voice in the primaries; urban counties, where labor votes heavily and Negro rights are more likely to be protected, are deprived of equal representation. Enlightened Southern newspapers, including the conservative Chattanooga *Times*, recognize the danger that the Georgia system, unless struck down judicially, will be copied by other states. A three-judge federal district court recently refused to outlaw the system, but the decision was a divided one. The Supreme Court has outlawed the "white primary" as such, and has nullified Southern Democratic attempts to evade the rule by the device of pretending that the Democratic Party is a private "club." It can reasonably be asked to assert its jurisdiction in the Georgia case, and to act quickly enough to make its ruling before the primary elections on June 28.

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NEARLY EVERY SECTION OF ORGANIZED labor is officially in favor of something called "unity," but there is small likelihood that the C. I. O.'s appeal for a joint committee with power to move toward organic union of various labor forces will produce sensational results. Each of the big labor federations and every independent union has its own bureaucracy

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and its own jurisdictional problems, and there is no sign that unions feel sufficiently menaced even by the Taft-Hartley act to be driven to coalesce. The significant thing about the C. I. O. move is that for the first time in many years the ideal of organic union is mentioned by the A. F. of L.'s junior rival. Organic union hitherto has been strictly an A. F. of L. project, while the C. I. O. has emphasized functional cooperation toward mutually held objectives. For the C. I. O. even to talk about a structural coalition is a sign that functional cooperation is actually developing. It is developing as the A. F. of L., the independent International Association of Machinists, and the Railway Brotherhoods parallel the C. I. O. in political campaigns. It is developing as the older unions, which have emphasized economic gains in the past, come out more strongly for legislative programs—in the fields of social security and housing, for example. American labor has been slow to grow up politically, but the series of anti-labor bills which culminated in Taft-Hartley has produced exactly the effect which A. F. of L. President William Green predicted in 1946 when he testified against an earlier union-busting bill: the American industrial worker is turning slowly toward the path that British labor has followed. The American worker is not a Socialist, but he has become conscious of his potential political power and exceedingly concerned about what Congress will do to him unless he cooperates with his fellow-workers to make that power effective.

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BEGINNING ON APRIL 29 IN THE MORNING and concluding with a dinner forum the next evening, a conference will be held by the Nation Associates at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York on the broad question of "The Atomic Era—Can It Bring Peace and Abundance?" The five sessions preceding the dinner will be devoted to various aspects of the subject. At the first, on Saturday morning, speakers will discuss the physical and psychological consequences of atomic—or hydrogen—warfare, the possibility of circumscribing areas of devastation, the dispersion of population and other means of defense. The Saturday afternoon session will deal with the question "Can Total Diplomacy Avert War?" analyzing this country's present foreign policy. The third session, on Saturday evening, will be given to a consideration of "The Relation of Science to the Freedom of Man." The whole problem of security, of the scientist's responsibility to society, and of the relation of academic freedom to a democratic community will be discussed. The peace-time potential of atomic energy will be taken up at the fourth session on Sunday morning, and the final session, on Sunday afternoon, will examine the most crucial and controversial question of all—the possibility of establishing a basis for agreement on the control of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction. This involves primarily our relations with Russia and the chance of ending the cold war. The dinner forum which will conclude the conference on Sunday evening is announced on the back cover of this issue. The purpose of the whole conference is to inform the public of the basic requirements for a policy which will lead toward peace and prosperity instead of atomic war. Out of it will come, we hope, concrete and practical proposals. We warmly invite the full participation of members of Nation Associates and all other readers of *The Nation* within reach of New York.

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SINCE THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE NEW feature Dangerous Thoughts, a number of readers have asked for more information about the authors of the page. Dangerous Thoughts is an experiment in group journalism by a number of writers and editors who are of like mind on the subject of the current assault on traditional American freedoms. The group signature, "The Observer," is used because the articles are products of the work of several people; one writer may offer an idea, another develop it, and still another make final revisions.

Sterling Gains Strength

NEW statistics bearing on Britain's internal and external finances suggest that the much-maligned policies of Sir Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Minister of Economic Planning, are meeting more success than his critics concede. For the financial year ending March 31 he has been able to report a "true" surplus of $174,000,000, or about $124,000,000 more than his budget estimate. This surplus was achieved after meeting not only all ordinary expenditures but also all capital outlays, many of which were for investments of a directly productive nature. In other words, the British government continues to operate, as it has done for several years past, on a fully pay-as-you-go basis.

It is true that this achievement has required heavy taxation. Private spending has been curtailed deliberately in order to provide the capital needed to raise productive efficiency and to limit personal consumption to the available supply of goods and so reduce the pressure on prices. Without a deflationary fiscal policy of this kind, which serves to check the demand for imports, to reduce domestic competition for exportable goods, and to hold down internal costs, it would have been impossible for Britain to take as much advantage of devaluation as it has done.

The extent to which sterling has been strengthened since last September is illustrated by the fact that the recovery in gold and dollar reserves recorded in the final

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quarter of 1949 was more than maintained in the past three months. As of March 31 these reserves, which provide backing for the trade of the whole sterling area, stood at $1,984,000,000, up $296,000,000 since December 31 and $72,000,000 higher than a year ago, before the beginning of the drain which was to end in devaluation. Moreover, while $256,000,000 of the first quarter's gain was attributable to E. R. P. funds and to a small draft on Britain's Canadian credit, it was possible for the sterling area to record a net surplus of $40,000,000.

The most important contributory factor in this improvement was a reduction in dollar imports made by both the United Kingdom and its partner countries—a reduction estimated to amount to $700,000,000 in a full year. Another factor was the strong demand for sterling-area raw materials, including wool, rubber, and cocoa; this demand, although partly seasonal, also reflected greater industrial activity in the United States. Britain's exports of manufactured goods to the United States and Canada, while tending to expand, are still earning fewer dollars than a year ago; however, its large deficits with Belgium and Switzerland, which last year necessitated heavy gold payments, have been almost wiped out.

Reporting on the reserve position, Cripps noted with satisfaction that "we and the rest of the sterling area have made a further advance in our long and arduous campaign to close the dollar gap" but warned his fellow-countrymen against undue complacency. He was entirely justified in so doing, for as Keith Hutchison pointed out in these pages last week, Britain is by no means clear of its troubles. Nevertheless, this new evidence of progress does suggest that the rumors of another sterling crisis in the near future which have recently circulated in London, Washington, and New York are based either on misinformation or on malice.

[For answer see page 347]

Good Hunting!

THE long-delayed House investigation of lobbying will go into high gear on April 19 with an inquiry into the housing lobby. How much good will come out of the investigation will depend largely on the success of the committee chairman, Frank Buchanan (D., Pa.), in checking efforts of Republican committee members to steal the show. The committee has functioned so far without noticeable disagreement between Democrats and Republicans. But any illusions Buchanan may have about "harmony" with Clarence Brown and Charlie Halleck are sure to be smashed if and when he exposes the relative amounts of money and the contrasting methods employed by the labor and pro-public lobbies, on the one hand, and the special interests, on the other.

There is no reason why the C. I. O. Housing Committee and the National Public Housing Conference, both of which favor public housing, should not be investigated, as indeed they will be. But the resources of these groups, financial and otherwise, are scarcely in the same category with the war chests, the private financial interest, and the inside-Congress connections of the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the National Association of Home Builders of the anti-public-housing lobby. The resources of groups favoring public health insurance are trivial in comparison with those of the privately operated insurance firms and of the American Medical Association lobby.

Representatives Halleck and Brown, to judge by the record of previous committee hearings, may be expected to concentrate on diversionary tactics. Brown helped change Buchanan's original resolution authorizing the inquiry to make it cover "government lobbying." He intends to expose "lobbying" by foreign ambassadors who invite Congressmen to dinner and "lobbying" by Secretary of Agriculture Brannan in support of the Brannan plan. To prevent such tactics will require skill.

Buchanan has another job. He can expose, if he will, the slowly developing coalition of such groups as the housing lobby and the Committee for Constitutional Government, which plan to join in an attempt to deprive the federal government of tax revenues for social-welfare purposes.

Buchanan's intentions are undoubtedly good, and his committee already has inspired one desirable reform in procedures under the 1946 lobbyist-registration act: a new type of filing form will force lobbyists hereafter to list all their legislative interests, all their sources of revenue, and all their expenditures "including loans." But Buchanan should now select bigger targets. There has not been a successful investigation of this type since the Black and La Follette Senate inquiries during the thirties, and if anyone is to make the present inquiry effective it will have to be Buchanan himself.

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McCarthy's Vicious Retreat

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, April 9

FOR the first time since Shifty Joe McCarthy began his attacks on the State Department, many leaders of the Republican Party may be harboring serious doubts about the aid and comfort they gave the panting little demagogue from Wisconsin. Owen Lattimore was quite a different witness from those who had previously appeared before the Senate foreign relations subcommittee to deny the taint of Communist sympathies. The others had testified in their own defense with fervor and persuasive detail. Lattimore—on whose case McCarthy himself said the whole set of accusations would "stand or fall"—lifted the proceedings to a new level. Mild and professorial looking, a student and journalist, he proved an extremely tough and challenging witness. The tall-columned caucus room of the Senate Office Building was suddenly transformed into an arena in which the victims were McCarthy and his slow-footed stooge on the committee, Senator Hickenlooper of Iowa.

The setting was strictly big league, for McCarthy had made it so. Lattimore was on the witness stand for more than five hours before batteries of movie and television cameras, klieg lights, swarms of reporters, and a standing-room-only audience. His voice dripped sarcasm as he pronounced the name of "Joseph McCarthy," this "learned Senator" who served, he charged, as the "dupe" and "innocent mind" for what is called here the China lobby, consisting of William J. Goodwin, registered agent of the Chiang Kai-shek government, and Alfred Kohlberg, a New York importer. Kohlberg, Lattimore said, had tried unsuccessfully in 1945 to get control of the Institute of Pacific Affairs.

Lattimore offered in evidence prints and negatives of all the pictures he took in May, 1949, at Point Barrow, Alaska—pictures to which McCarthy had attached a sinister significance but which Lattimore described as views of "Eskimo children, dog sleds, huts lined with whale ribs, natural beauties, and sunsets." He mocked McCarthy again for his crawl from the raucous accusation that Lattimore was Russia's "top espionage agent" in the United States to the pale admission that "perhaps too much emphasis" had been put on the espionage matter. He went down the line of McCarthy's other charges, presenting evidence to refute or ridicule them. He got a letter read into the record—his now famous letter to Joseph Barnes which McCarthy had misquoted—and exposed the Wisconsin Senator again as a twister of texts and a ravisher of contexts. He categorically swore that he had never been a Communist, never associated with the Communist Party, never been an advocate of the Soviet program.

It was a magnificent performance—the first which came up to that of McCarthy himself a week earlier, when the Senator commanded the Senate floor for hours, hurling his charges and beating back Democratic heckling. But more than that, Lattimore succeeded in turning the caucus room into a hall for the discussion of both American foreign policy in the Far East and the principles of free speech. Helped, curiously enough, by the plodding cross-examination of Hickenlooper, he carefully set forth his thesis that the United States could not prop up Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, that it could not establish "little Chiangs" in South Korea and other Asiatic countries, that Chiang might have made reforms in the Nationalist government and kept the people on his side but failed to do so. Lattimore advocated a flexible policy toward the Chinese Communist government—a policy that would always emphasize our traditional friendship for the Chinese people and our desire to help them stay at least partly free of Russian domination. He rejected again and again the insinuation that anyone who disagreed with the China policy advocated by some Republicans was disloyal. He demanded the right of free discussion—and he made the demand stick.

What of McCarthy? The Wisconsin Senator, who has demonstrated his capacity to be completely unscrupulous, is as crafty as a coyote, as dangerous as a trapped bear. He sat, taut-lipped and pale, directly behind the subcommittee and facing Lattimore through the early hours of the hearing. Then he went up to Passaic, New Jersey, to accept an "Americanism" award from a Marine Corps group. Here he shrilled defiance at Lattimore, daring him to sue on the basis of this attack made outside the privileged forum of the Senate. Reporters hastily pointed out however, that McCarthy had not repeated his Senate charges—had said neither that Lattimore was a Communist nor that he was an espionage agent. Nor did he repeat his accusations that Ambassador Philip C. Jessup had an affinity for Communist causes and that John S. Service of the State Department had "Communist affiliations [that] are well known."

McCarthy is trying to retreat to a new line—a nonlibelous charge that Lattimore's views "paralleled" the views of the Cominform. Senator Mundt of South Dakota, Senator Knowland of California, and some others are echoing this milder position. But that will not be enough to let McCarthy squirm free. Lattimore has sworn he is not and never has been a Communist, and

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McCarthy in the Senate promised to produce a witness in refutation. The witness is tentatively scheduled to appear on April 13, providing McCarthy can induce him to testify. If the witness does appear, and declares of his own knowledge that Lattimore is or has been a Communist, one or the other will be exposed to a perjury indictment. McCarthy can hardly continue to rehash slippery and shifting charges unless he can produce someone willing to stand up without the cloak of immunity and support the accusations.

Two veteran and respected Republicans—Seth Richardson of the Loyalty Review Board and General Conrad B. Snow, chairman of the State Department's Loyalty Board—have testified that they know of no Communists in the State Department. Richardson has said that in the more than 10,000 full field investigations conducted by the FBI under the President's loyalty program no suggestion of espionage has been uncovered.

There are signs that substantial elements of the Republican Party are weary of the albatross McCarthy has hung around their necks. The return of John Foster Dulles to the State Department and the appointment of former Republican Senator John Sherman Cooper make it clear that McCarthy and those who want to fight the battles of the China lobby are no longer in complete control of G. O. P. policy.

It has been a miserable and repulsive business, and the tide presumably will take as long to ebb as it did to reach its flood. The foreign policy of the United States has been seriously damaged; we have been made to look ridiculously divided and self-distrustful in the midst of a precarious world situation. We still do not have a foreign policy for the Far East based on the realistic assumption that Western imperialism in the old-fashioned sense is ended and that if we want to save all Asia from the Russians we must do more than bleat our fears and send some planes to Chiang on Formosa. If Lattimore's appearance before the Senate subcommittee proves a turning point, McCarthy will have done his country a favor that he could scarcely have contemplated.

The Bridges Decision

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, April 7

ON APRIL 1, the day that F. O. Matthiessen leaped to his death from a hotel window in Boston after expressing deep concern over "world conditions" and the trial of his friend Harry Bridges in San Francisco, the jury in the Bridges case began its deliberations. Four days later the jurors filed back into the courtroom and announced that they had found the defendant, Harry Renton Bridges, guilty of perjury, along with his codefendants, Henry Schmidt and J. R. Robertson. The jury was congratulated by Judge George Harris on having "found the truth shimmering like gold in the crucible of this trial," and the latest chapter in the fifteen-year-old Bridges case was brought to a close. In the context of this sordid chapter, however, the judge's remark had the quality of a bad April Fool's joke.

Throughout the long trial two facts stood out: the government's use of highly discreditable methods to secure a conviction, and its clever evasion of the real charge against Bridges, which has always been that he is a stubborn, able, militant trade-union leader who years ago made the serious mistake of arousing the undying enmity of a coterie of officials in the Immigration Service. Not even the friendship and support of the waterfront employers could protect him against the malice of these officials in this last trial.

Whether Bridges is or ever was a member of the Communist Party has never been the real issue in his case. As long as it appeared to be the issue, he was successful in beating off one attack after another, for the government had to prove an affirmative charge. But in this last trial his old enemies reversed their strategy and charged him, not with being a Communist, but with perjury because he had once said that he was not a Communist. He now stands convicted of this charge, largely for the reason that he could no more prove he was not a Communist than the defendants in a certain Salem prosecution of 1691 could prove they were not witches. The first of the two facts, however, completely overshadows the second in general importance. People will differ over the question of how well Bridges accomplished the impossible task of proving a negative contention, but I find it difficult to believe that minds free of bias and with a respect for truth can fail to be disturbed by the extraordinary methods used by the Department of Justice to secure a conviction.

Consider, for example, the testimony of two "surprise" witnesses, Paul Crouch and Manning Johnson. Without the slightest hesitancy or equivocation, both men testified that Bridges had attended a convention of the Communist Party in New York between June 24 and June 28, 1936. Every opportunity was given them

CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor, has served on various committees organized to defend Bridges's rights.

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on cross-examination to qualify their testimony as to time, place, or circumstances, but they kept repeating the story with great insistence. Then Vincent Hallinan, chief counsel for the defense, introduced incontrovertible documentary proof that Bridges was in Stockton, California, attending a meeting of his union during the entire period when he was supposed to be in New York. A parade of witnesses confirmed this fact. It is hard to believe that the government, which has spent well over half a million dollars in the various Bridges prosecutions, and which possesses unrivaled powers of investigation, presented the testimony of Crouch and Johnson without being aware of its dubious quality. It should be noted, moreover, that for the last three years Manning Johnson has made a career of testifying for the government, having been sponsored by the Department of Justice as a key witness in twenty or thirty prosecutions.

Or take the testimony of "Lawrence Ross." This witness declared that his name was Lawrence Ross and his birthplace Kentucky. Under Hallinan's bludgeoning cross-examination he began to hedge, and then, spouting Biblical quotations, he confessed that he had perjured himself: his real name was Lipman Rosenstein and he was born in Poland. In preparing a case of this importance, in which everything hinged on the credibility of the witnesses, the government surely investigated the background and identity of everyone it called. It is therefore inconceivable that it was in ignorance of the true facts about Ross. Even more disturbing is the fact that the government, which indicted Bridges for perjury, promptly hustled Ross out of the state and refuses to proceed against him for perjury. One also notes, with some amazement, that during the trial Immigration Agent William Kaiser took Ross to services at a Christian Science church attended by one of the jurors. The government could, of course, have been mistaken about Crouch, Manning, and Ross, but its failure to proceed against them, or even to repudiate their testimony, must be put down as ugly evidence of the malice which has characterized every phase of its campaign against Bridges for the last fifteen years.

As to the government's star witness, Mervyn Rathborne, it is incontestable, as Hallinan charged in his summation, that for more than a year the government "kissed and petted" this witness to induce him to testify against Bridges. Rathborne himself said on the stand that he was taken to Washington, where Tom Clark, then Attorney General, personally asked him to testify on the ground that the strike called by the I. L. W. U. in 1948 was "political," that Bridges was a detriment to the country, and that his influence must be ended. What is one to say, not merely of the reasons urged, but of this use of the prestige of the office of Attorney General to coerce an unwilling witness into turning informer? To rehabilitate Rathborne, the Immigration Service induced the Los Angeles courts to expunge the record of a burglary conviction. This, of course, is a mere detail. But one cannot brush aside the fact that the government paid Rathborne approximately $5,000 in the form of witness fees, expenses, and fees as an "expert." Patently Rathborne was not an expert witness in any sense in which that term could be used to justify such handsome compensation for "telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." The more one studies these curious vouchers of $25 and, for long periods, $43 a day, the more shocking the whole procedure becomes.

There is still another respect in which the methods used by the government are disturbing. George Wilson, a well-known figure in the California labor movement and a former friend and associate of Bridges, testified against him in this trial. Alvin D. Hyman reported in the San Francisco *Chronicle* that Wilson's distress on the stand ". . . was like an acute physical sickness; it caused him to fidget and move his hands aimlessly about and run his tongue around the inside of his mouth and swallow his words and give vent to odd contortions of the legs and shoulders. . . . His distress flowed from him in waves that lapped at the feelings of every man and woman in the courtroom." The record throws a revealing light on the cause of this distress. A self-acknowledged former member of the Communist Party, Wilson was employed by the government from 1945 to 1947. In 1945 applicants for the position he held were required to sign an affidavit that they were not and had never been a member of the Communist Party. The more one ponders the implications of this fact in connection with Wilson's obvious reluctance to testify against Bridges, the more embarrassed one becomes over the government's conduct of the trial.

At this point, also, certain questions naturally suggest themselves: Was "Lawrence Ross" subject to prosecution for having exercised the rights of a citizen when he was in fact an alien? Is he subject to deportation today? What do the government files show about the background of the eleven witnesses who testified that Bridges was a Communist? And what inducements, either in the form of immunity for past offenses or of "experts'" fees, were offered to make eager apostles of truth of once reluctant witnesses?

Only a Congressional investigation would provide answers to these questions, but the fact that they haunt virtually every page of the record may eventually bring a reversal of the conviction. In the meantime the methods used in this case constitute a sinister precedent and a blow to the liberties of every citizen. Judge Harris may see "truth shimmering like gold in the crucible of this trial"; others will see baser elements—acknowledged pressure and perjury used to obtain a conviction.

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DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

The Trouble with Informers, II

THE breakdown of electricity or an acute water shortage so paralyzes any large community that each citizen becomes helplessly aware of the basic service he has always taken for granted. Today in America we are suffering from a far greater breakdown—that of the basic processes of civilized law. For when President Truman issued his Loyalty Order he also set the strongest possible precedent for accepting guilt by association and permitting conviction without cross-examination of the accuser by the accused.

Organizations of responsible citizens are branded subversive without hearing or defense; private citizens are herded into an economic concentration camp by boycott; an Attorney General arbitrarily sets up certain standards for government employment and labels those outside the pale "disloyal." Who can then blame ignorant hoodlums for believing themselves patriots when they break up meetings of people officially classified as "their country's enemies"?

We are told that the government cannot make its proof public for fear of exposing its own informers. That is nonsense. If the informers have gathered their evidence of treason, they should offer it in a courtroom in their country's defense. If they don't, one can only conclude that there is no evidence.

During the thirties the Roosevelt haters resorted to all kinds of hysterical attacks on private citizens and members of the Administration. These were largely ineffectual because in every case a cool appraisal of the evidence revealed the baselessness of the charges. But these accusing zealots were so committed to what they wanted to believe that they could not understand why the nation remained unconvinced. According to them, their premises could not be at fault; therefore the trouble must be caused by the processes of the law—and so the right to cross-examine an accuser had to be discarded. President Truman, for political reasons, gave his enemies this present in the form of the Loyalty Order, and in his generosity handed over the Bill of Rights.

But what happens when one of these informers is put on the witness stand? Here is an example. John L. Leech, a one-time Communist, was a witness against Harry Bridges in an early deportation case. Dean Landis listened to his testimony and called him a pathological liar. In 1940 Leech testified before the Dies committee that the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League was Communist-controlled and named a number of actors, all of whom were subsequently cleared by Dies himself. Yet Leech's testimony still stands on the records of the Un-American Activities Committee and is today the basis for any number of libelous attacks by irresponsible Congressmen and editors. These attacks are made, of course, without any mention of the source. Leech has become an "authority" not to be questioned.

Recently, however, Leech *was* questioned because his ten-year-old accusations figured in a libel case. On direct examination by the friendly counsel he established himself as an "expert" on communism and stated that he himself had been a central figure in "subversive" activities, leaving to the imagination just what he meant by "subversive." Cross-examination made his meaning clearer.

Q. You told us of having, I think, helped people who were evicted, and collecting food and other things that you did for the Communist Party.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Tell us something *bad* that you did for the Communist Party, will you?

A. I have committed lots of acts of subterfuge.

Q. All right now, let's have one or two of them.

A. I have persuaded people that they could be entirely sincere by becoming members of the Communist Party. . . .

Q. And what did you say to them?

A. That the Communist Party desired to be of interest to the great masses of people instead of to function as other political parties did, for the assistance only of the wealthy. . . .

Q. Well, you lied to them about the Communist Party, did you?

A. No.

Q. You did not call that a lie?

A. No.

Q. Now tell us of some of your other acts of subterfuge.

A. I have talked over the radio, and to groups of people concerning the election, and have done what all politicians do, tell them that the Communist Party candidates would be elected, and if they were elected I would tell them that they would change the political system that we lived in; that is, the Roosevelts, the Hoovers, the Trumans all did that, and if you want to call that a lie. . . .

In another part of the proceedings the cross-examining attorney read into the record several extracts from Leech's testimony in 1940 before the Dies committee. But even Dies made Leech backtrack under examination. The overwhelmingly Communist thousands became a maximum of no more than forty-two who gave some financial support to the Communists; and on further questioning no more than 60 per cent of these forty-two were members of the party, reducing the number to twenty-four. Yet even that number continued to shrink.

Chairman. Do you know why they were interested in . . . the Communist Party?

Mr. Leech. To the major extent the Communist Party played upon their fears of anti-Semitism and Nazism. . . [However] there were a certain number of individuals who thoroughly subscribed to the Communist method of life.

Chairman. What percentage would you say came under that classification?

Mr. Leech. A very small percentage. Probably not more than 2 or 3 per cent.

In the libel case, nine years later, the cross-examining attorney made Mr. Leech admit that 2 or 3 per cent of twenty-four came to half a person.

From the thousands supposedly engaged in a vast Communist conspiracy down to one-half of a Communist! Private citizens today are being convicted in the public eye less by perjury than by paranoia. Leech is only one example. Because of him and others teachers cannot teach, actors cannot act, writers are denied publication, musicians have their instruments taken away; and then when they are pauperized, relief is denied.

No great city ever replaced its electrical system by candle-light, and no transit breakdown was ever solved by the reintroduction of the ox-cart. By the same token the United States can never resume its status as a democracy until the Loyalty Order is set aside.

THE OBSERVER

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Second Round for Israel?

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

Amman, April 2

IN THIS dusty little Moslem capital of the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan, where sleepy donkeys nudge you off the sidewalk and sheiks with flowing pink head dresses whiz by in 1950 Chryslers, one of the most important questions of our era will be decided in the next few weeks: Will there be a second round of war between Israel and the Arab world?

Jordan represents the most vulnerable point in the wall of Arab power that surrounds Israel. If Israel can make peace with Abdullah's kingdom, it can break the economic hammerlock of the Arab League.

For a time it seemed that a quick and comprehensive agreement might be reached early in March. Both parts of Jerusalem desperately need peace, the exchange of goods, and tourists. Everybody is weary of the barbed wire that still divides the city. It is impossible for a pilgrim to the Holy Places to go through Israel, cross to the old city of Jerusalem, and then come back through Israel. Jews cannot cross even one way, nor can Arabs enter the new city from the old even when technically they own large amounts of property in the new city. (To get into the old city I had to go north through Syria and Lebanon instead of merely crossing the street.)

With his poverty-stricken kingdom feeling keenly the economic effect of the blockade, Abdullah has been conducting "secret" negotiations with Israel for months. Contrary to some reports, the reason these negotiations came to an abrupt halt in March was not the dispute about the handling of the hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees from Jewish territory but the question of the maintenance of the Arab boycott against Israel. Israel saw no value in a temporary peace if it did not provide for the resumption of trade relations, but Abdullah hesitated to break his commitments to the Arab League. The little King was faced with an incipient revolt of his own Palestinian Arabs, and so reluctantly suspended the talks, probably until May, when the Jordan elections of April 12 will, he hopes, have given him a "responsible" government for his enlarged kingdom.

From a source within the government I learned that when Abdullah tried to make a quick peace with Israel, he met stiff opposition from the Arab chiefs in eastern Palestine whose land he has unofficially annexed. These Palestinian Arabs, with more education and wealth, feel superior to Abdullah's "primitive" henchmen and are reluctant to subordinate themselves. Many of them are intensely bitter about the loss of their property in Israel to the Jews. Abdullah has tried to appease them by taking four of their number into his Cabinet, but their acceptance of an advisory role has not necessarily transformed them into his loyal subjects.

On March 2 the King tried to oust the skeptics from his Cabinet by accepting the "resignation" of the present Premier, Twefik Pasha Abul Huda, and substituting his palace negotiator and former Premier, Samir Pasha Rifai. But very disturbing intelligence reports soon began to pour in. An opposition was forming; a revolt was possible. Influential Palestinian Arabs want no "Jerusalem Munich with Jewish aggressors." Glubb Pasha (Major General John Bagot Glubb), British head of the Arab Legion and Abdullah's military chief, favored caution and compromise. Samir Rifai was unable to form a peace Cabinet of representative men. Abdullah backed down, and reappointed the old Premier with the old Cabinet.

Nominally the question whether Israel can make peace with an Arab nation cannot be decided before the nation-wide election of greater Jordan's first Parliament on April 12. At that election the old kingdom east of the Jordan and the new Arab section of Palestine will vote together for the first time. Arab Palestine, with a considerably larger part of the population, will elect twenty members to the House of Representatives, and the old Jordan another twenty. The election will not be a genuine test of popular will, since Jordan has no full-blown political parties and little freedom for political propaganda. The Parliament is largely a creature of the King. Until a few days ago there was only one political party worth mentioning, the semi-official Al Nahda. Under the surface a new group is forming which may call itself the No Peace Party, made up largely of Arab diehards from eastern Palestine.

Besides these diehards there are a few Communists and their sympathizers who are carrying out the Kremlin's present Palestine line, namely, to defeat Abdullah at any cost as "a stooge of British imperialism" even if the interests of Israel are sacrificed in the process. The Soviet Union's plan for Jordan and Jerusalem calls for the elimination of Abdullah, the internationalization of Jerusalem as a whole, and the creation of an independent Arab state in that part of Palestine which was not absorbed into the new Israel. The Communist movement

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PAUL BLANSHARD, well-known author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power," will be The Nation's *special representative in Rome during the Holy Year. He will contribute other articles on Israel before beginning his reports on the activities of the Vatican.*

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King Abdullah

itself is weak in Jordan, but its temporary program vis-à-vis Abdullah is supported by many wealthy conservatives. The first five Arabs I interviewed after crossing the barricades to old Jerusalem, all comparatively wealthy, were unanimous in declaring that Abdullah did not represent Arab Palestine and that they would never agree to Israel's conquest of "Arab soil."

Abdullah's situation is further complicated by the hostility of the Arab League to any negotiations that might give Jordan a favored relationship with Israel. At Cairo the League Council has been shadow-boxing with itself and trying to pretend that it maintains a nonexistent unity. The league is strained to the breaking point by dissension over the continuing boycott of Israel, but no one wants to admit that fact in plain Arabic. For the first two days of the Cairo meeting the other six Arab states—Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Yemen—waited impatiently for the delegates from Jordan to come to be castigated, but Abdullah's representatives stayed away. Rumors then circulated that Jordan was to be put out of the Arab League as punishment for appeasing Israel. By threats or persuasion the little King was finally induced to let his ambassador to Egypt serve as his nominal representative, and the solidarity of the Arab League was technically preserved. A resolution threatening united action against any member nation which did business with Israel was unanimously adopted, Jordan concurring.

It is obvious that the other six Arab nations would like to trounce Abdullah for trying to do what most of them would like to do themselves. Ismael Sidky Pasha, former Egyptian Prime Minister, expressed the hope of many Arab leaders when he defined his position in a statement to *Ahk el Yom*:

> What interest has Egypt in considering as enemies over one million educated, rich, and productive Jews? As long as the dispute between Egypt and Israel remains unsettled, Britain will continue to flatter America and the Jews behind her at the expense of Egypt. If France agreed to sign a peace with Germany, why should not Egypt sign a peace with Israel?

Will Abdullah be able to make peace with Israel in spite of the opposition of a large part of the Arab world? In the last analysis the King is responsible to no one—except the British government, which made him king in May, 1946, and which sustains his Arab Legion, under Glubb Pasha, with an annual grant of about three million pounds. Democracy in this little kingdom is a farce in more ways than one. Perhaps 75 per cent of the inhabitants of old Jordan cannot read or write. Women have no vote, and most of them wear the traditional Moslem veil. Polygamy is rare but is still permitted, and Abdullah himself has three wives. Only last Sunday the reactionary Minister of Education issued a decree prohibiting coeducation even in private schools.

The Jordan constitution reminds one of those paper democracies that British colonial officials are so fond of creating among "backward peoples," in which the officials themselves emerge as mediators for God and King. The Jordan House of Representatives, to be elected on April 12, will be chosen by adult male suffrage, but the upper house, the House of Notables, will as usual be named by the King. The King can declare martial law at any time he wishes. Newspapers must submit every serious story and dispatch to an official censor. Cabinet members are not necessarily members of Parliament or responsible to Parliament, and Article 4 of the constitution says that no proposal for legislation shall "be considered a law unless sanctioned by the King." Even Jordan's national budget may be put in force by the King and an appointed Council of Ministers without popular sanction.

THERE is at least one point on which Jordan and Israel are in complete agreement—their opposition to the internationalization of Jerusalem. Observers in Geneva agree therefore that the performance of the United Nations Trusteeship Council, in spite of manifest good intentions, seems almost purposeless. The members are like actors trying out a road show they know will never reach Broadway. The United Nations has directed them to prepare a working plan for the internationalization of a city that is part Jewish and part Arab, in which both the Jews and the Arabs oppose their efforts. I have been told that the majority of Christian Arabs around Jerusalem might welcome internationalization, but there is no evidence that this is the view of the Moslem Arabs, and certainly the Jews of the new city oppose it bitterly.

In vain did Garreau of France and Ryckmans of Belgium try to maneuver the Trusteeship Council away from the letter of the United Nations resolution toward a compromise scheme that would internationalize something less than the whole city. Bitterly and persistently Jamali of Iraq, representing the Arab diehards, called for the enforcement of the letter of the law. The United States representatives went along dutifully, apparently fearing they would be called disloyal to the United Nations if they failed to carry out faithfully this now impractical directive. So the delegates discussed coinage, school systems, and governorship powers for an inter-

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national city which most observers predict will never exist. In a sense the American representatives were paying the penalty for the lethargic American opposition to the December 9 resolution of the Assembly which carried internationalization to temporary victory through the bizarre alignment of Kremlin, Vatican, and Arab power.

BESIDE THE POINT

THE Chase National Bank has been advertising its services by running a series of "workaday stories" about people and their banks. For instance, in one of these ads, headed "Butcher Talks About Bankers," August Bestedt tells his story, in another Pharmacist Bellis tells his, and so on.

What is so impressive about these stories is that they are imbued with an esteem, even an affection, for banks and bankers that we had no idea was so common. Mr. Bestedt's story is typical. We quote: "I make my living selling meat but believe you me, I couldn't run my business if it weren't for my bank." His main point comes toward the end: "If my bank doesn't treat me right I can go to another bank. That all adds up to competition. I like it and I can't see how any business could get on in this country without the banks. I know I couldn't."

In some of the ads, for a change, bankers tell what *they* think of banking. These are awfully interesting. One of them was headed "$000 or $000,000," and we defy anyone to controvert the first paragraph: "Three zeros will change a thousand dollars to a million, or turn a little bank loan into a big one."

And vice versa, for *our* money.

The "story" ended on the same note as Mr. Bestedt's: "That's the beauty of our American system. The average citizen doesn't have to take what he gets and like it. He gets what he asks for or goes to another good store or bank."

P. S.: This morning we got a letter postmarked somewhere in Iowa, inclosing a manuscript. The sender asked us to forward it to the Chase National Bank. "They might want to use this story," said our correspondent, "in one of those ads." It reads as follows:

> I don't have to work for a living any more, and it was my bank that turned the trick. I'll never forget the day the bank took over the farm. I was mad as hops. I decided then and there that I didn't like the service I was getting, so I just moved to another farm. It's run by the county. Three meals a day and a dry place to sleep, no responsibilities, no family cares. Believe you me, I'm fixed for life, and I wouldn't be where I am today if it hadn't been for my bank.

M. M.

IT ISN'T THE DRINK itself that so worries the French about Coca-Cola. "It is a question," *Le Monde* explains editorially, "of the style of life of which it is a sign and a symbol. . . . It is a question of the whole panorama and morale of French civilization." The Gallic view is that if Jim Farley's Elixir and its competitors should come to replace wine on the tables of France, the sacred grape would wither on the vine, bankruptcy would engulf the country, and French letters would sink to the level obtaining in Eufaula, Alabama.

To put the worst of these fears to scientific test, we tried removing wine from a few classic passages in our own tongue, substituting the beverages that have made us famous. The French are right. To take the most obvious case, consider the dreamy desire of Omar the Tent Maker:

> A book of comics underneath the bough,
> A glass of Coke, a hamburger—and thou
> Beside me sitting in the rumble-seat—
> Ah, rumble-seat were Paradise enow!

And imagine Ben Jonson singing:

> Or leave a kiss but in the cup
> And I'll not ask for 7-Up.

Replete with references to the fruit of the vine, the Gospels would suffer grievously. Think of the sound Biblical counsel converted to read, "Drink no longer water, but use a little Cherry Smash for thy stomach's sake." Or of the sweet psalmist extolling "Cream soda that maketh glad the heart of man." Then there is the dismal thought of Odysseus tossed on the "coke-dark sea." And the King sitting in Dumferling toune, "drinking the blude-red V-8."

But enough of these horrible examples. To be perfectly fair, one must admit that the reverse process shows wine no better adapted to the purposes of our own culture. How would it sound to have a radio blasting out:

> Old Madeira sets the pace,
> Twelve big bottles, that's a case;
> Get civilized and pickled too—
> Old Madeira is the wine for you.

R. B.

★

THE FIGURES on the dwindling of the New York City water supply remind us of the figures on the dwindling of the British dollar reserves which we watched with so much suspense last summer. And we can hear Colonel Blimp muttering to himself: "Those Americans! Spending water like money."

★

> . . . All [Stendhal's] misfortunes had come from his enslavement to psychological insight, and now that same master-passion bade him sit down and try to see himself as he really was.–From a review in *The Nation.*

A lesser man would have lowered his insights.

Answer to Who's Who? page 340: Chaplin, Dewey.

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Two Costly Deaths

BY CLAUDE BOURDET

Paris, April 7

WITHIN one week two of the most distinguished figures in French political and intellectual life have disappeared from the scene. Both belonged to the not very numerous group of men and women who refuse the oversimplified image of "good" and "evil" as the capitalists on the one side and the Russian Communists on the other present it to us.

Emmanuel Mounier was much less well known abroad than Léon Blum, the old leader of the French Socialist Party. Yet Mounier's death was a more striking event than Blum's. For Blum was at the end of a great career, and Mounier, only forty-five, was one of the most promising leaders of the French intelligentsia. Mounier was a Catholic philosopher and also, in the best sense of the word, a journalist. Since 1932 his monthly review, *Esprit*, had been the stronghold and the gathering point of all who believed that a vigorous, earnest fight against the squalor and horror of the capitalist world, breeding depression and war, did not have to be linked with the police state, nor even with the benign but boring pseudo-metaphysics of the nineteenth century.

Brandel

Léon Blum

This group of Socialist-minded Christians and intellectuals—some of them humanistic atheists—has grown larger and larger as the years have passed. Characteristically Mounier refused to take any part in the anti-Communist witch-hunting which most of the non-Marxist groups, and many Socialists, indulge in; at the same time he avoided being drawn into the nets of fellow-traveler organizations. Recently, as the purges in the Communist Party became more violent and more frequent after the Tito affair, it was interesting to note that the former Communists who refused to follow the Moscow line any longer turned to Mounier's group. The reason for this was, of course, that although Mounier had never given way to Communist pressure, he had not, as many other members of the left had done, joined the "Atlantic" side, with all its reactionary implications. Nobody, alas, will be able to take Mounier's place.

Blum's death was not so untimely. He could look back to a long life and great achievements. These last few years, because of his age, he had slowly faded out of French politics. Yet when two years ago a last attempt was made to lead France along the road to peace and democratic socialism, the venerable Blum was judged to be the only figure with enough prestige and political weight to give the attempt a chance of success. But one man could not turn the course of history. The French working class is too divided to hold its own against the forces of social reaction, urged on by the Atlantic mind.

Blum was too old to rejuvenate his party. But as by far its "biggest" man he continued to be its leading spirit—or should one say its soul? Was it for the good or the evil of the party? Many have suggested that Blum's great qualities were often disastrous for the S. F. I. O. He was a really good man, perhaps too good and too benevolent for a world of rough strife and battle. Often during the past years it seemed that Blum was fighting in too "clean" a way, while his opponents were striking below the belt. In 1936 it was evident that non-intervention in Spain, accepted by Blum to please his bourgeois allies in the Popular Front, only meant abandoning Republican Spain to Italian and Nazi intervention and thus helping the two fascist countries to prepare for the Second World War.

How many later disasters were bred by non-intervention in Spain! Moreover, it is quite probable that the democratic way in which the Popular Front pact was applied in 1936 checked the enthusiasm of the workers, brought back confidence to the bourgeoisie, and thus destroyed the Front, while driving the disgusted workers into the Communist Party. I feel sure that in 1945 Blum recognized the mistakes of 1936, but unfortunately two circumstances prevented him from becoming the leader of a real Socialist Party rather than of the timid S.F.I.O. First, he was too old and his health had suffered too much from his imprisonment in Germany. In addition, the schism of 1920, which cut away the Communists from the Socialist Party, had bred, so to speak, one party full of virile force but with little sense of intelli-

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gent political tactics and another party with all the finesse needed but no "pep." As the years go by, it seems that both parties become more and more ludicrously onesided—the Communists blundering along and wasting huge amounts of courage to lead the French working class absolutely nowhere, the Socialists devising beautiful theories of what "should" be done and never being able to do it.

It is possible that Blum, with his deep insight, understood the fatality which hung over the French working class and knew that it was no use to try to inject new hormones into it. In 1947 a great wave of discontent within the party carried away Blum's best man, wiry little Daniel Mayer, brought in Guy Mollet with a revolutionary program full of big words and grandiose plans. This was definitely an anti-Blum coup. In two years Mollet and his crowd have become even quieter than Blum's so-called "right wing," and Daniel Mayer was the man who made the best stand against the reactionary elements in the Queuille Cabinet.

It will take more than Blum's death to change the policies of French socialism. Perhaps Blum was right, and the party's only hope lies in maneuvering between the right and the Communists, keeping a sort of bulwark between the opposing forces and waiting for the French Communist Party to get sick of Moscow. If a great French workers' party can then be created, what a flashing piece of good news it will be for the whole world—if not for French big business!

Setback on the Roanoke

BY V. C. LAWLESS

Richmond, Virginia, April 4

WHEN the Virginia Electric and Power Company (Vepco) applied to the Federal Power Commission last fall for authority to construct a hydroelectric project at Roanoke Rapids, one of eleven dam sites selected by the federal government as part of its comprehensive plan to harness the Roanoke River, many people here dismissed the move as merely another skirmish in the private utilities' war against public power.

Two weeks ago, however, the FPC's chief examiner ruled in Vepco's favor. If the finding is upheld by FPC administrators, it will allow private interests to encroach upon river basins set aside by the government for flood-control and public-power projects. In a word, it will mean the subordination of the principle of production for public service to the principle of production for private profit.

The application is opposed by electric cooperatives in Virginia and North Carolina, by the Rural Electrification Administration, and by the Power Division of the Department of the Interior on the ground that the Flood Control Act of 1944 reserved the Roanoke Rapids site for government development. The company maintains that although the eleven dams were authorized by Congress, funds were provided for only two of them, and that lacking further appropriations the authorization had no meaning. Vepco insists that unless its application is approved it cannot hope to meet the demands for power now made upon it. If the FPC turns down the plea, the company promises to bring the matter to a court of appeal and, if necessary, to the Supreme Court.

The government's interest in the Roanoke goes back to 1927, when Congress directed the Army Engineers to examine the river's watershed for all potential reservoir sites that might be useful in harnessing floods of the sort which have struck here thirty-nine times in the last fifty years. The Engineers reported that the construction of eleven reservoirs could eliminate 89 per cent of the annual flood damage to property and also create sources of power in an area still largely unelectrified.

When the Roanoke development plan was submitted to Congress in 1944, Vepco launched a vigorous campaign to defeat it. Raising the issue of "socialized power," the company obtained the support of the Virginia Chamber of Commerce and most of the organized business and industrial organizations in the state. The power lobby applied strong pressure to Virginia Congressmen. A large segment of the state press, which for years had been clamoring for flood-control legislation, suddenly reversed its stand. Vepco appeared to have lost the battle, however, when Congress passed the Flood Control Act, which authorized the Roanoke project, and appropriated $18,000,000 to start construction of the Buggs Island and Philpott dams.

But when hearings were held late last year on appropriations for the completion of the Buggs Island dam, Vepco representatives were on hand. This time—after having spent vast sums in the past to defeat the legislation which made the project possible—they came out in favor of the appropriation! The company's new strategy soon became clear when it applied to the FPC for authorization to build a dam at Roanoke Rapids and announced its intention to ask permission to build a second dam at Gaston. Roanoke Rapids and Gaston are the river's two most favorable sites judged by the relationship between construction costs and potential power output. It would be hard to persuade Congressmen that the government project could be self-sustaining—or entitled to further appropriations—if shorn of its two most profitable sites. A Vepco victory will not only jeopardize completion of the remaining dams in the Roanoke basin but threaten federal river-development projects in every section of the United States.

V. C. LAWLESS is a Richmond journalist who has made a special study of the operations of Vepco.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

From Method to Madness

SCIENCE IS A SACRED COW. By Anthony Standen. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.75.

THERE is an opinion among us that "real scientists" do not share the follies of popularizers, "pseudo-scientists," or *scientismists*. Mr. Standen, a real chemist, is under no such illusion regarding his colleagues. When he tells us, for example, that sociologists, like psychologists, "range from the most scientific . . . to the most sensible," he does not put *scientific* in respectful quotes. He means that in so far as this word has come to have only its late-nineteenth-century definition—"as pertaining to or derived from the physical sciences"—its application to the human being can range only from the most "sensible" self-deception to the most dangerously "scientific" lunacy. Thus his attack, despite its nose-thumbing and its brash, often boyish tones, is a radical attack on the biological and social sciences—real and ideal—from the psychological measurement of "intelligence" and the physical measurement of "orgasm" to the engineering definitions of the "human machine" on which much medicine and most psychiatry (especially "shock" and lobotomy) are founded.

Such an attack, welcome to science-weary laymen, will be most gratefully received precisely by those "social scientists" (or ex-scientists) who have grown increasingly embarrassed by the title. For science, useful to us only so long as it does not define us, has lacked the one distinction between the human and the non-human (based on *mind*) which could have saved it from the madder consequences of its naturalism, as well as from its own dissociated supernaturalism.

The physical sciences, to which "scientific method" is alone appropriate, Mr. Standen admires as noble creations of *probabilities* which do not, however, approach the provable truth of mathematics. (He reminds us that the existence of atoms is not proved even by a bomb.) Biology, on the other hand, is a mass of facts related not by scientific hypothesis-and-experiment but by *analogy*—often brilliantly imaginative. (Though "a man's arm" has *some* relation to "the wing of a bat" and "the flipper of a whale," no experiments on fruit-flies have told us what it is.) Yet biology has given us the human organism, a creature neurophysiologists admit was modeled on a steam engine more closely than on a whale; whose values, according to psychologists, may be verified by rats but whose instincts still derive from Watts: they must find an "outlet" lest the locomotive burst. This is why more progressive psychologists urge us to study modern physics and electronic, rather than Newtonian, engineering: in order to understand ourselves. (We cannot function like a modern calculating machine, in other words, unless we have the *structure* of the new machines.)

So while the biological and social sciences contain "extremely little" that is "scientific," says Mr. Standen, it is just that little which is dangerous when applied to *us*. And though he rightly exempts the psychoanalysts as being the "least scientific" and so most nearly useful of our social engineers, the psychoanalysts continue to enforce that "least" with the most powerful techniques of moral suasion ever known.

So long as man includes himself, as part of nature, in the only realm susceptible to scientific method—that is, dead matter—he has perforce to include himself as mind. Mind becomes body (or as Mr. I. A. Richards has told us, "the mind *is* the nervous system"); intelligence becomes physically measurable; language becomes "communication" shared by animal or machine (especially the electronic); and we poor humans, so included, must use formulae derived from physics to observe ourselves "objectively," as in the following example:

> Mr. Sidney Hook has seriously wondered . . . whether man is intelligent. He says this is an empirical question on which considerable evidence has accumulated. . . . But how does evidence accumulate? . . . in a sort of dust-pile . . . or in minds? . . . Mr. Hook might have come to the conclusion [that "at least some men possess at least some intelligence"] by contemplating himself. But . . . by the rules of the scientific game . . . to do so would not be objective.

This raises the question: by whom or what is man to measure himself, to find out if he is intelligent? A question similar to those the physiologists are asking now about the "merely human brain": whether it is not gravely inferior in construction to the more intelligent electronic "brain," and if so whether ours might not be radically improved by surgery.

Thus naturalist definitions have brought about such things as Cybernetics—hailed in the Sullivanian journal *Psychiatry* as a revolutionary "new science of life, compared to which the atomic bomb is only [*sic*] a symbolic toy." This "*revolution in our thinking* brought about by modern physics" enables engineers of the Machine ("artificial") to meet psychologists of the Animal ("human") to discuss Communication in Animal and Machine. They find that electronic "organisms" share *ends* and *values* with "human machines," since both are controlled by *negative feedback*. Feedback, called a "governor" in steam engines and similar to what Dewey and others call "self-regulating mechanisms" in men, has been defined by the Cybernetician Dr. Wiener as "what was once, in a human context, loosely described as thinking."

So identical is the psychiatric "organism" to the electronic, in fact, that the same methods of psychotherapy will cure both. "First we shake the machine," says the electronics engineer, or "subject it to an abnormally large electrical impulse." Or, as Mr. Standen forgets to mention, we may, according to Wiener, "disconnect an erring part of the apparatus" (the psychiatric branch of engineering puts it another way: "sever the connections between thought and emotion") in the hope that what remains may be adequate for our purpose. Thus is real ideal science applied to the control and preservation of that natural object, man.

A word concerning Mr. Standen's

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use of language: strong or even noisy as it seems, it is still the human language and not that pseudo-algebraic scientese esteemed as scholarly, "objective" prose today. And surely he is the first scientist to have proclaimed what few poets dare to whisper: that if you want psychology, you must look to that body of knowledge where psychology is found, namely, literature.

MARJORIE FARBER

Europe's Ordeal

THE NINE LIVES OF EUROPE. By Leo Lania. Funk and Wagnalls Company. $3.50.

"I PLEAD guilty," says Leo Lania on his book jacket; "I am an optimist." After reading the first three parts of his book—headed Sickness of Mind, Sickness of Soul, and The Festering Wound—one rises to ask, "What about?" Still, looking closely at Europe and the world today as a veteran of "two wars, three revolutions, and four concentration camps," Lania manages to come up with a hopeful smile. Obviously the man has stamina. He also has good eyes for threading his way through darkness. And he has a set of beliefs that light him along his path.

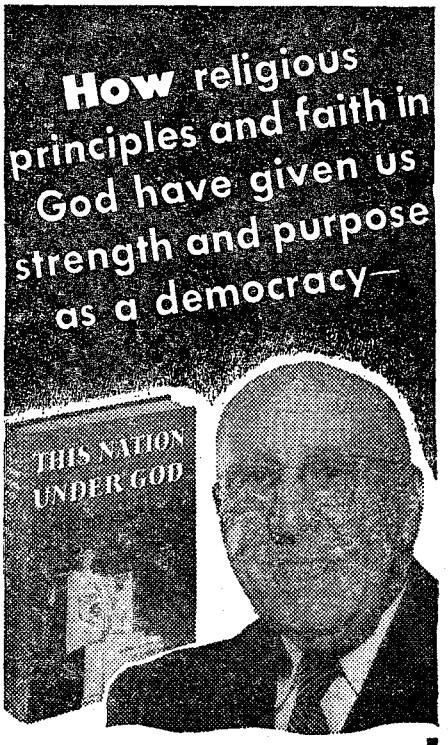
Russian-born, Vienna-trained, once a soldier in an Austro-Polish regiment, then an editor in Berlin, a writer in Paris and London, and now a roving lecturer in America, Lania went back last year to his haunts abroad to study their changes and to try to sum up what they meant. Throughout Europe he found a surprising degree of economic recovery along with a disheartening moral letdown. And this led him to his thesis, which is that Europe's crisis is at bottom not economic at all but spiritual, and that we in America err when we try to master and resolve a great spiritual convulsion with purely economic weapons backed by a show of arms.

He makes his argument in a book which avoids the mass of undigested data familiar among foreign correspondents' Cook's-tour reports, and instead focuses so briskly on high lights, undertones, and conclusions as to become an aggressive, descriptive tract. It has color: we revisit the old cafes, we pick up sharp political jokes—a prime opposition weapon, Lania reminds us, in police-state countries—and meet a prime minister or two. But most of the color is dark: in drifting France, Lania sees chiefly shrugging cynicism; in the more robust Italy, an air of amiable bewilderment. In Prague the cafe waiters have discarded their tailcoats and adopted a uniform resembling an Eisenhower jacket that is supposedly more in keeping with a "people's democracy," but the people they serve are generally sullen and fearful. Budapest is a coating of night-life glitter over harsh working conditions and sudden disappearances. In the bustling Polish city of Wroclaw three new apartment houses have been reserved exclusively for the regime's favorite writers and artists, but they are not producing anything worth while; as for backward Rumania, you simply cannot get in.

What makes him optimistic, then? First of all, there is Austria, the most exposed salient of anti-communism. Lania finds its recovery a "major miracle," and credits the sturdy tradition of Austrian socialism with keeping the Stalinist infection at bay. He sees great strength in the Scandinavian Socialist movement, in the potential of German trade-unionism, and in the Labor masses of Britain—though he deplores Bevin's foreign policy as reactionary.

In fact, he deplores all British foreign policy, exclaiming that for the last hundred years Britain's role on the Continent has "retarded the unification and democratization of Europe." There speaks the suspicious Continental, as in his liking for German social democracy there speaks its traditional partisan. Lania seems to indorse Kurt Schumacher's remark that Germany was all set for a social revolution in 1945 but that this was "thwarted" by the occupying Allies, who must now take the blame. What revolution? Its stirrings at the time were not discernible to the naked eye.

With much fire Lania goes on to argue that it is with European democratic socialism that capitalist America must league itself in order to launch a winning offensive against the Kremlin. This league, he believes, will both invigorate the drifting liberal currents in Europe and broaden and liberalize us at home. He sees victory not far away if we will just deploy our truest weapons. He strides upward pretty fast



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along a thorny path. But it is good to see him carrying an Excelsior banner.

WILLIAM HARLAN HALE

The Questing Hero

A SEARCH FOR THE KING. A Twelfth-Century Legend. By Gore Vidal. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

THE king of the story is Richard the Lion-Hearted. Returning from the Crusades, Richard was taken prisoner by the Duke of Austria, and the legend Mr. Vidal has adapted concerns the efforts of Richard's troubadour, Blondel, to find the place of imprisonment and convey the news to England. Blondel wanders through Austria, Germany, France, singing sometimes for his supper, received everywhere with joy by virtue of his precious gift of song. He has adventures. He seduces a pretty young woman and gets seduced by a hideous old one. He encounters a dragon, a giant, werewolves, a vampire, a unicorn. We gain a sense of the perilous tracts he traverses; and always the contrast is drawn between the men who live safely in villages and the poet—"the traveler, the stranger, the separate man: moving from nowhere to nowhere, pondering at certain times a captured king."

Here Mr. Vidal is at his best—as projector of a myth old as the Grail legend, the myth of the questing hero. Reading it one sees what was wrong with his earlier novels—that he had not the talent for realism. The realist understands the glamour of facts, their infinite significance. But facts bore Mr. Vidal. They make his writing intolerably dreary. He says in the Introduction that he has since childhood remembered the legend of Blondel and long wanted to retell it. But he has really, one now sees, been telling it in all his novels, though the significance, the mythic image, has got obscured by the clutter of facts. It requires Blondel to explain those anxious young heroes of the earlier novels—always rootless, disconsolate, in search of an ideal. The fantastic beings of this novel, the giant and vampire, symbolize by their grotesqueness the abnormal types of the earlier novels—the homosexuals of "The City and the Pillar," the predatory mother in "The Season of Comfort."

The giant indulges a quite literally gustatory taste for young shepherd boys. The vampire, Countess Valeria, is Mr. Vidal's most unforgettable creation. A woman of exquisite refinement, actually dead for ages but strangely preserved on human blood, she talks in Baudelairean accents of the ennui of existence and of her own quest for vitality: "The sun hurts our eyes and withers our skin: the moon is cooler, a borrower of light and, in that, like us." The merely clinical abnormality depresses us. But the grotesque symbol evokes a response—grim laughter for the giant, a pleasurable shudder for the vampire.

Unfortunately, the legend occupies only half the book, mainly in a section called The Search. The rest is history, irrelevant and detrimental. We want for legend only a vague sense of the long ago, but Mr. Vidal subjects the past to critical analysis. Richard, presented critically, seems hardly worth Blondel's quest. Mr. Vidal even debunks the Crusades, pointing out their economic motivation, and attributes a cynical remark of Voltaire's, considered startling in the eighteenth century, to the general mind of the twelfth. He does everything possible to awaken skepticism, then asks us in the same volume to face up to a dragon, a giant, a vampire.

Though the novel shows the faults of a transitional piece, the author having been unable to break all at once with his old style, readers who were unimpressed by the earlier work may well find this one more to their liking.

ROBERT LANGBAUM

Brazil's First Emperor

EVERY INCH A KING. A Biography of Dom Pedro I, First Emperor of Brazil. By Sérgio Correa Da Costa. Translated from the Portuguese by Samuel Putnam. The Macmillan Company. $3.

MR. DA COSTA has written a spirited biography of one of the most picturesque figures Latin America has produced. Many American readers are familiar with the career of Dom Pedro II, who was the wise and humane Emperor of Brazil until Brazilians decided in 1889 that they preferred a republic. Until now, however, they have had little or no opportunity to study the less constructive but more interesting career of his father, Dom Pedro I, who cut Brazil loose from Portugal and became its first emperor.

Pedro I set an example for his son by abdicating peacefully when the Brazilians tired of his arbitrary rule—he considered himself a liberal, but he was just as annoyed as any of his Braganza ancestors when his subjects tried to do something of which he disapproved.

Actually, the most constructive portions of Pedro's life came after his abdication, when he returned to Portugal and suppressed the rebellion against his daughter, Queen Maria da Gloria,

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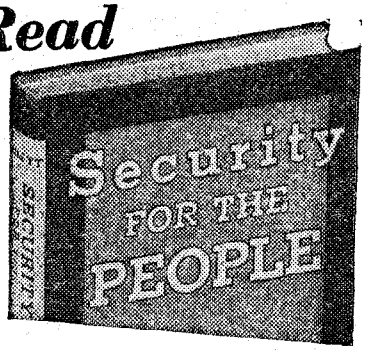

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which was led by Pedro's brother Dom Miguel.

Precisely the same struggle, known as the First Carlist War, was taking place in Spain at the same time, and Mr. Da Costa records the little-known fact that Dom Pedro was offered—and refused—the crown of Spain. (He was also offered, but refused, the crown of Greece.)

The author has concentrated his attention on the picaresque aspects of Pedro's career, and he has given us a story that is rivaled only by "Gil Blas." The stories of Pedro as an artist, musician, athlete, and cabinet-maker, and, above all, of Pedro as a tropical Don Juan, lose nothing in the telling.

Mr. Da Costa, who is the grandson of the Brazilian poet Raymundo Correa and a son-in-law of Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, who was president of the United Nations General Assembly in 1947, is now Brazilian consul in Los Angeles. His life of Dom Pedro would make good material for Hollywood; his extensive bibliography confirms the saying that truth is stranger than fiction.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Courageous Gentleman

LAFAYETTE BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1783-1789. By Louis Gottschalk. The University of Chicago Press. $7.50.

THIS book is the fourth of a series on Lafayette and has been awarded the J. H. Hyde prize by the American Historical Association. The Marquis is in good hands. He is handled with sympathy, dignity, and some humor by a biographer with high standards of scholarship and real literary talent.

Perhaps some will wonder why a very able scholar should devote his life to following restless Lafayette across oceans and revolutions. He was not particularly brilliant or wise, not a great thinker, statesman, or even soldier. But besides being a courageous gentleman eager to serve the cause of reason and justice, he was an ideal witness. From Lafayette's vantage point as a man of action, the reader can follow the course of history and see the varied influences of the American Revolution on France.

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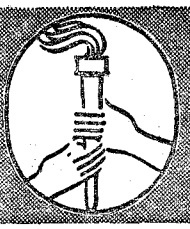

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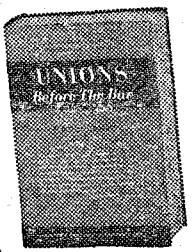

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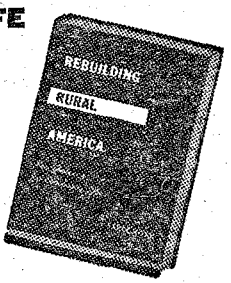

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ence becomes the champion of French liberalism; not only his experiences on this continent but the continued influence of his mentors, Jefferson and Washington, shape the evolution of an aristocratic soldier who comes to join the "conspiracy of well-intentioned men."

Perhaps he was not a "full-fledged revolutionary leader" as the author calls him in the concluding pages, for his revolution was to be peaceful and follow the English model of 1688 rather than the American one. A constitution and a bill of rights were to leave intact the traditional framework of hereditary monarchy and aristocracy. As Mr. Gottschalk points out, Lafayette was loyal to both reason and tradition and believed that good intentions, patience, and moderation would do the trick. It was to his credit that he preferred to court the favor of the nation rather than the King's, but his need to be approved prevented him from being a man of the stature of Washington, whom he admired and tried to imitate. It condemned him to remain a symbol rather than a leader.

CHARLES A. MICAUD

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CHAPEL HILL

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

I SEE no very compelling reason why "The Cherry Orchard" should be rewritten, since Chekhov wrote it pretty well to begin with. Shifting the scene to a Southern plantation is dangerously close to what Hollywood calls a "gimmick," and if it be argued that the transition is easily made, that means only that the original play had a certain universality which ought to be as evident in one version as the other. Nevertheless, Joshua Logan's "The Wisteria Trees" (Martin Beck Theater) is now a *fait accompli*, and it is only fair to say that it is a good deal better, or at least a good deal less offensive, than one might reasonably have anticipated.

No doubt that is in part because it is admirably acted by an excellent company which includes Walter Abel and is headed by Helen Hayes—of whom it is perhaps enough to say that she is almost the only living American star who could fill such an assignment without ever seeming to be aware of the fact that "the star" is what she is. Even so, however, the fact remains that the whole rather unpromising project comes off surprisingly well and that an uninformed spectator might see the play without realizing that both its action and its general mood were taken over pretty directly from a work written half a century ago in a distant country.

To say so much is not merely to say that there are fewer than one might expect of those awkward moments when a supposedly equivalent character, or situation, or sentiment seems forced or unconvincing. There are relatively few such moments, and the fact is in itself remarkable. The three-cornered relationship among the ex-serfs, the graceful, inefficient aristocrats, and the up-and-coming plebeian entrepreneur translates itself very easily into the similar relationship among the owners of the mortgaged plantation, the ex-slaves who serve them, and the rich son of a poor-white-trash family. Even more remarkably, the author manages to achieve with comparatively few lapses the much more difficult feat of maintaining at least a rough approximation of Chek-

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hov's balanced and understanding, rather than partisan, attitude toward the characters and what they stand for.

Everything in the atmosphere of the present moment would seem to make that impossible. Against it is the specific fact that "the Southerner" is our scapegoat and that at times anti-Southernism is in some respects parallel to what anti-Semitism was in Germany. Against it also is the general fact that we have the habit of thinking of everything in political and sociological terms, whereas Chekhov was primarily concerned with atmosphere, flavor, mood, and what might be called the feel of life rather than with what we call its "social consequences." All the argument over the question whether or not he was a "critic of society" and therefore a sort of John the Baptist to the savior Lenin is rather beside the point. Obviously he was a "liberal"; obviously he perceived the evils of czarism. But he was, by artistic temperament, less either political or anti-political than simply non-political. At least when writing plays he realized what very few writers today do realize—namely, that the truest meaning of certain things is to be discovered neither in their causes nor even in their consequences but in the thing itself; that a rose is a rose is a rose, and a certain kind of life is that kind of life, not what produced it or what will come out of it.

In "The Cherry Orchard" Chekhov certainly did suggest the possibility that something good might ultimately come from the rise of a new class, even though it did mean the disappearance of some very charming people and the destruction of an orchard which was more beautiful than economically self-justifying. Most of the time the new play keeps reasonably close to his intention, reasonably close to the stress on the attempt to realize what it was like to be a master, what it was like to be a servant, and what it was like to be a member of the new-rich. When it fails it fails because it cannot quite keep to this line. It ends much more cheerfully than Chekhov does, and it bears down somewhat more heavily upon the thesis that what we are witnessing is the "march of progress." Occasionally it is crude, occasionally fatuous in drawing this sociological moral. But the surprising thing is that it comes as close as it does to giving us something equivalent to Chekhov.

P.S. Personal note from a critic who sometimes remembers that he is himself a Southerner: If "The Wisteria Trees" is an accurate representation of what life was like fifty years ago in a backward region dominated by a decadent race, and if "The Death of a Salesman" is an accurate representation of what life is like in the progressive East after half a century more of progress, then I am just a little bit confused as to what it all means.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

SEVERAL of the finest of Haydn's last group of symphonies have been issued on LP records. Thus, a Columbia record (ML-4268) offers No. 92 ("Oxford") played by the Cleveland Orchestra under Szell, and No. 101 ("Clock") played by the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy. Except for the exaggerated and brutal accentuation of the series of first notes under two-note phrasing-slurs in the minuet movement, the performance of No. 92, considered by itself, is satisfying; but when one listens to the old Victor recording of Bruno Walter's performance one hears tempos in the fast movements which make the Szell performance sound stolid, a grace and sensitiveness which the Szell performance lacks, and the playing of an orchestra—of the Paris Conservatory Concerts—finer than the Cleveland. In the performance of No. 101 one hears the finer playing and richer sound of the Philadelphia Orchestra; and one hears also tempos and outlines very similar to those of the old Toscanini performance (to the extent of spoiling Haydn's little joke in the trio of the minuet movement). What one doesn't hear is the Toscanini subtleties of inflection, and the Toscanini continuity of inner cohesive tension in the flow of sound (*e.g.*, in measure 18 of the introduction). The recorded sound requires reduction of treble; and bass is cavernous.

On another Columbia record (ML-4276) are the Symphonies Nos. 94 ("Surprise") played by the Liverpool Philharmonic under Sargent, and No. 100 ("Military") played by the same orchestra under Rignold. The performance of No. 94, a poor one previously issued on 78, is better reproduced on LP; the one of No. 100 is, again, inferior to the old Walter-Vienna Philharmonic performance on Victor: the minuet movement is stolid, the finale too fast for clarity, the orchestra's playing not first-rate. The recorded sound requires additional treble; and there is a hum in the minuet movement.

A London 10-incher (LPS-124) offers the Symphony No. 103 ("Drum Roll") played by the London Philharmonic under Solti. The performance is very good (which the Heward-Hallé Orchestra performance on Columbia is not); the dubbed sound, with the added

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treble it needs, is a little sharp; woodwinds are blanketed by strings in some of the tuttis; surfaces are audible; and the break between sides splits the second movement.

On another London 10-incher (LPS-86) is Mozart's Symphony K.551 ("Jupiter") played by the London Symphony under Krips. The performance is good (though not as majestic and beautifully inflected as Toscanini's); and its recorded sound also is good, except for a sudden drop in volume and brightness at the beginning of the development in the finale, which is the only reason for thinking the recording may have been dubbed.

The Berlioz Reverie and Caprice Opus 8 for violin and orchestra on a Columbia 78 single (72869-D) I have found disappointingly uninteresting; and Szigeti does some of his poorer playing with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Lambert.

And now a number of organ recordings. On a Capitol-Telefunken LP (P-8029) is a dubbing of part of Part 3 of Bach's "Klavierübung"—the magnificent Prelude in E flat, a number of the chorale-preludes, very beautiful, one of the duets, and the impressive Fugue in E flat—played by Fritz Heitmann on the Arp Schnitger organ in Charlottenburg Palace. The performances are good, except for the slow pace of *Wir glauben all' an einen Gott*; the recording reproduces contrapuntal texture clearly, but the beginning of *Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit* is almost inaudible, the end of the Fugue is completely distorted, the Prelude and Fugue are in D instead of E flat, and surface defects are quite bad.

A London 10-incher (LPS-137) offers a dubbing of Bach's great Fantasia and Fugue in G minor played by Dupré on the organ in St. Mark's Church, North Audley Street, London. The Fantasia is taken much too slowly; the recorded sound is heavy down below and not clear on top; and the dubbing produces bad breaks. Franck's Fantasia in C on the reverse side is dull.

A set of two Allegro 10-inchers (AL-29) offers Bach's great Preludes and Fugues in A minor and B minor; two engaging smaller-scale works, the Preludes and Fugues in D and C; and another small-scale work, the Prelude and Fugue in D minor, of which I like only the Prelude. They are well played by Robert Noehren on "the baroque registers of the Schlicker organ in Kenmore Presbyterian Church, Buffalo"; and come off the records with remarkable clarity and brightness, but also with occasional distorting vibration.

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